

*An Impartial Account, of the Nature and Tendency, of the late
ADDRESSES; in a Letter to a Gentleman in the Countrey.*

S I R,

SECT. 1.

YOU are not mistaken in taking it for granted, that I have read the several late *Addresses* to His Majesty, for being the Subject of the chief diversion of the Town, I should have been unfit for conversation, had I not so far consulted them, as to be able, as well as others, to make them the matter of discourse and entertainment among my Friends. But whereas you are further pleased to require my inward and serious thoughts concerning them, I must crave liberty to tell you, That notwithstanding all your Interest in, and Authority over me, you should never have been able to have extorted from me what you desire, did not the Service which I owe His Majesty and the Government, command more at my hands, than the friendship and deference which I pay you could have obliged me unto. So that you are to ascribe my compliance with your request, to its falling in with the Fealty and Allegiance which I render my Prince. And the more Freedom, and less Reserve, you find me to use upon this Subject, you are intirely to resolve it into the Love and Compassion which I bear for the King, who I fear, is not only industriously deluded, but wofully betrayed, by the judgment which some about him pretend to make of the sense and inclination of the People from these *Addresses*.

SECT. 2. For no Applications of this nature to the *Regnant* person are to be esteem'd of any great weight or significancy, if you do but consider the Result of the many *Addresses* Three and twenty year ago to *Richard Cromwell*, and how they only served to render him secure till he was undermined and supplanted. For of all the *Sixteen hundred thousand* that vow'd to Live and Dye by him, not so much as one man drew a Sword in his favour when he came to be laid aside. I acknowledg, that there is a great difference betwixt an *Usurper* and a *Rightful Sovereign*; yet that detracts very little in the present case, from the importance of the consideration which I have suggested: seeing the least that we are to gather from it, is this, That no *Addresses* contrary to the interest and general humour of the Nation, are to be accounted of any value for a Prince to sustain himself upon. And if there be nothing else to secure our late *Addressers* to His Majesties service, but their Promises and Protestations in those Papers, he may be as much disappointed should he have occasion to trust to them, as the former Gentleman after the like security was.

SECT. 3. It is astonishing, as well as surprising, that when *Petitions* had been not only discountenanced, but forbidden by Proclamation, *Addresses* should so soon after be encouraged and promoted! And our amazement is greatly heightned, when we consider that the *Petitions* were in reference to matters which every body understood, and in relation to such things wherein the Law justified the Petitioners; whereas the *Addresses* respect matters which very few understand, and which the Law noways authoriseth private men to meddle with, and which none save a Parliament have Power or Ability to decide and determine. For tho' men are to be esteem'd capable of knowing their own wants, fears and dangers, and ought to be justified in begging those means of Relief and Redress which the Law hath provided for them; yet every one is not to be accounted sufficiently qualified to determine concerning the Reasonableness and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Resolves; nor is any number of men whatsoever, empowered to Umpire differences between His Majesty and His great Council. And whereas those very *Petitions* which seem'd most preemptory, did nevertheless, with all due resignation reserve to His Majesty his full Prerogative, many of the *Addresses* import no less than the Robbing the Parliament, not only of their Right and Authority to Impeach Criminals, censure Offenders, withhold, as well as give supplies, but of their most essential Privilege, *viz.* freedom of Debates.

SECT. 4. Nor doth it appear to considering Persons, that any advantage can arrive to the King or Government by them; whereas the mischiefs and inconveniencies which do attend them, are obvious to every one. For what else do they tend unto, or can they be supposed calculated for, but to divide the Nation into factions and parties, and to foment those heats and animosities among His Majesties Liege people, which are already too

*An Impartial Account, of the Nature and Tendency, of the late
ADDRESSES; in a Letter to a Gentleman in the Countrey.*

S I R,

SECT. I. **Y**OU are not mistaken in taking it for granted, that I have read the several late *Addresses* to His Majesty, for being the Subject of the chief diversion of the Town, I should have been unfit for conversation, had I not so far consulted them, as to be able, as well as others, to make them the matter of discourse and entertainment among my Friends. But whereas you are further pleased to require my inward and serious thoughts concerning them, I must crave liberty to tell you, That notwithstanding all your Interest in, and Authority over me, you should never have been able to have extorted from me what you desire, did not the Service which I owe His Majesty and the Government, command more at my hands, than the friendship and deference which I pay you could have obliged me unto. So that you are to ascribe my compliance with your request, to its falling in with the Fealty and Allegiance which I render my Prince. And the more Freedom, and less Reserve, you find me to use upon this Subject, you are intirely to resolve it into the Love and Compassion which I bear for the King, who I fear, is not only industriously deluded, but wofully betrayed, by the judgment which some about him pretend to make of the sense and inclination of the People from these *Addresses*.

SECT. 2. For no Applications of this nature to the *Regnant* person are to be esteem'd of any great weight or significancy, if you do but consider the Result of the many *Addresses* Three and twenty year ago to *Richard Cromwell*, and how they only served to render him secure till he was undermined and supplanted. For of all the *Sixteen hundred thousand* that vow'd to Live and Dye by him, not so much as one man drew a Sword in his favour when he came to be laid aside. I acknowledg, that there is a great difference betwixt an *Usurper* and a *Rightful Sovereign*; yet that detracts very little in the present case, from the importance of the consideration which I have suggested: seeing the least that we are to gather from it, is this, That no *Addresses* contrary to the interest and general humour of the Nation, are to be accounted of any value for a Prince to sustain himself upon. And if there be nothing else to secure our late *Addressers* to His Majesties service, but their Promises and Protestations in those Papers, he may be as much disappointed should he have occasion to trust to them, as the former Gentleman after the like security was.

SECT. 3. It is astonishing, as well as surprizing, that when *Petitions* had been not only discountenanced, but forbidden by Proclamation, *Addresses* should so soon after be encouraged and promoted! And our amazement is greatly heightned, when we consider that the *Petitions* were in reference to matters which every body understood, and in relation to such things wherein the Law justified the Petitioners; whereas the *Addresses* respect matters which very few understand, and which the Law noways authoriseth private men to meddle with, and which none save a Parliament have Power or Ability to decide and determine. For tho' men are to be esteem'd capable of knowing their own wants, fears and dangers, and ought to be justified in begging those means of Relief and Redress which the Law hath provided for them; yet every one is not to be accounted sufficiently qualified to determine concerning the Reasonableness and Legality of Parliamentary Proceedings and Resolves; nor is any number of men whatsoever, empowered to Umpire differences between His Majesty and His great Council. And whereas those very *Petitions* which seem'd most peremptory, did nevertheless, with all due resignation reserve to His Majesty his full Prerogative, many of the *Addresses* import no less than the Robbing the Parliament, not only of their Right and Authority to Impeach Criminals, censure Offenders, withhold, as well as give supplies, but of their most essential Privilege, viz. freedom of Debates.

SECT. 4. Nor doth it appear to considering Persons, that any advantage can arrive to the King or Government by them; whereas the mischiefs and inconveniencies which do attend them, are obvious to every one. For what else do they tend unto, or can they be supposed calculated for, but to divide the Nation into factions and parties, and to foment those heats and animosities among His Majesties Liege people, which are already too

A

great

great to need to be farther heightned and enflamed? 'Tis His Majesties desire, as well as his interest and duty, to be equally esteemed the Father and Defender of all his people; but these Addressers would possess the Nation, that they only are to be accounted His Loyal Subjects; and that all His favours are only due, and ought to be confined to them: And by threatening the generality of people, that they have forfeited His Majesties affection and care, by refusing to act as they do; they insensibly lessen the love which His Majesty ought to have in the hearts of all His Subjects, and wonderfully abate the zeal which they would otherwise have for his Service. Nor can any say, that Petitions have the same effects, seeing amongst persons in the same circumstances, some may represent their wants and grievances, without prejudicing or giving offence to those who chuse silently to undergo them. And who knows, but that whilst some think they are to seek their Relief by humble Applications unto, and fervent Importunities of their Prince; there may be others who hope, that their Sovereign may from the sense which he hath of their Calamities, afford them, at last, all the succour he can, without the solicitation of their cries? But the nature of these Addresses being to commend and applaud the present posture of affairs, and to justify most of the steps and counsels by which we have been reduced into this doleful condition; they do in effect declare every one to be peevish and clamorous, that cannot acquiesce and rejoice in this state of things under which we groan and labour. And as they hereby render all those enemies unto them, whose safety and happiness they are conceived, not only to abandon, but destroy; so the very Government, through the characters of Grace and Favour which it placeth upon their Applications, runs a hazard of losing much of its respect and veneration.

Seet. 5. And besides this and many other mischiefs, which they do naturally involve the Government and the Kingdom under; they will be found prejudicial and inconvenient to the King, in the tendency which they have to deceive and abuse him. For whereas they are designed to persuade His Majesty, that what they represent and suggest, is the common and universal sense of his people, and that he may accordingly take his measures; it is both evident in it self, and will be found so in the issue, that they contain and express only the sentiments of a few persons of little interest, and most of them of a very small & mean figure in the Nation. For if Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, be the best standard to judge the disposition of the Kingdom by, it is not so long since we had an opportunity of feeling the Pulse of the Nation; but that we may reasonably conclude, that all other things remaining as they did, the temper and complexion of the generality of the people, is also much the same. And whensoever His Majesty shall either find himself obliged from the necessity of His Affairs, or from the goodness of His Inclinations be pleased, to call a Parliament, How little will he, upon a disappointment of what he is made to believe and expect, judge himself indebted to those who have so industriously deluded him?

Seet. 6. And as they are no ways subservient to His Majesties profit or service; so neither will they in the event prove so useful either to a Popish or Arbitrary design as some do apprehend. Not that any think the King knows of any such design promoted by them; but there are those who may have ends in this, as in the *Dutch-War* and *Black-Heath Army*, which His Majesty is not aware of. But tho' some little creatures may have ultimately aim'd at some such thing, by promoting of them; yet such villanous designs are, in charity, to be supposed far from the intentions of most that have subscribed them. And accordingly, when divers of the most zealous Actors in the carrying them on, have been calmly told what were the natural and ill tendencies of them, they have solemnly professed, that they would sooner be hanged at their own dores, than be intentionally accessory to the establishing a Despotical Rule over the Nation, or the enslaving the Kingdom to Popery again. Nay, it is to be hoped, that should either or both these, at any time hereafter, more neerly and visibly threaten *England*, many of the present Addressers will, in their lawful stations, be amongst the most forward and zealous to withstand them. Nor will they in such a case find any way to expiate their indiscretion, and atone for their present folly, but by thus demonstrating, that it was no part of their intention hereby to contribute to these things. And should any in the List of the late *Thanksgivers*, be hereafter found to have promoted Addresses with a prospect of introducing either Tyranny or the Papal worship, the names and pretences of Law and the Protestant Religion, which they have not only flourished their Papers with, but made His Majesties promise of preserving them the ground of their acknowledgments, and the foundation of the Tenders which they have made of their Lives and Fortunes, will entail an everlasting infamy upon them, and render them the objects of all mens contempt.

tempt and indignation. And in the mean time, the Jealousies and Fears which some are said to have conceived of a Popish and Arbitray Design at the bottom of the Addresses, do by quickning the watchfulness of the Nation, serve not only to counter-mine, but to give them a total disappointment therein.

Seet. 7. Nor yet in the next place, is the number of the Subscribers so considerable, as to bear any proportion to those who are against them. For tho' a few busie people have made a great noise and buz in several places of the Kingdom, yet all of them put together, make not so great a number as we have seen not long since to one Petition for a Parliament. So that it is matter of wonder, that the Government for its own reputation hath not in some publick way prohibited and forbid them, and especially when it finds, that after all the neglect and scorn which the Addressers are exposed to for their paucity and fewness, yet they have not the Discretion to forbear and desist. Sir, you must needs have observed by reading the *Gazetts*, where you have the Inventory of them, that almost all the Counties, and the most principal Cities, such as *London* and *York*, and the chiefest *Towns* and *Corporations* have forbore and declined presenting any. And I may add, that even where they have been obtained, not *One* in *Ten*, and in some places not *One* in a *Hundred* had any hand in, or gave concurrence to them. For if it be allowed, as in Justice as well as Modesty it ought, that whosoever have either avoided or refused Subscribing, are as truly to be judged against them, as they who have positively withstood, or directly opposed them, then the *Tale* of the Addressers will make but a very small show and appearance in the Muster-roll of the Nation.

Seet. 8. And this is the rather to be taken notice of, and doth the better evidence what opinion the people have of them, if you consider the Means, Ways, Arts and Methods that have been used and taken to advance and promote them. For besides that most of the Clergy, and many in the present Commissions both Civil and Military, as well as several of the Magistrates of Corporations, have not only interested themselves in countenancing, but been sticklers for them, as for the great *Charter* or *Petition of Right*. The Grace and Favour with which they have been received, and the Marks and Characters of Honour which have been conferred upon divers that presented them, who for ought the world knows, had no signal matter else to recommend them, were very proper means to have procured an Universal and National Application. And yet neither the Influence of those who pretend to prescribe unto the Understandings, as well as to direct and conduct the Consciences of men; nor the Authority and Advice of those, to whom all are willing to pay a Respect and Obedience, in whatsoever their Interest, Religion, and the Law will suffer them; nor yet the hopes of Titles and Honours, which some merely for that Service have, in the truest sence, been loaded with, have been effectual to prevail with, or bring over any great or valuable number to joyn in them. And should I tell you what other Arts have been pursued to obtain men to Address, you would say, that either a sullen Crossness, or some more generous Principle had possessed the Nation, that persons should every where so generally refuse and withstand them.

Seet. 9. And if you more narrowly enquire into the condition of those that are engaged in the Addresses, you will find their Quality for the most part as inconsiderable as their Number. The greatest Part of those who have given thanks for Dissolving Parliaments, are such as either for want of Years, or Poverty, were never capable of giving a Vote in Election of Members to sit in them. Setting aside Two or Three, or a few more in a Town or Corporation that have embarkt in them, the greatest part are made up of the Scum and refuse of the place where they live. *Norwich*, whence we have been alarm'd with the greatest noise, yields but a small number of persons either of Estate or Usefulness, whose hands were annexed to the Paper which was sent up.

Seet. 10. Nor is the Moral Condition of the Addressers disagreeable to to their Civil: For not to mention, that those who are most Popishly inclined, have enrolled themselves among the first in the respective Lists and Subscriptions, several others of them are such who were formerly either in the number of Abhorrrers of Petitions, or guilty of one Offence or another, which the last Parliaments were about calling them to an account for. And wheresoever there is either a little bankrupt Tradesman, a scandalous and disgrac'd Attorney, one whose Necessity exposeth him to be biased by Crufts of Bread and Pots of Ale, any whose Folly makes them pragmatistical and impertinent, or whose Prodigality and Ambition forceth them to look for Preferment beyond their Merit, these are infallibly in the front of the Addressers, and the unwearied and industrious procurers of Thanks to His Majesty for Dissolving Parliaments. So that for many of them

them, their manners are such, that did the King but truly understand what Character they pass under where they are known, He would esteem it a reflection upon His Honour, and an aspersion upon the Wisdom and Equity of His proceedings, to be either approached or thanked by them.

Sect. 11. And as for their Politicks, they are in most of them proportionate to their Morals, and agreeable to the condition which their Birth, Education and Fortune have stated them in. For can any man believe that the *Mayors, Headboroughs, Aldermen, Bailiffs, Burgesses and Freemen of Rippon, Wigan, Windsor, Chatham, Haslemere, New-Sarum, &c.* are competent Judges of what the late Houses of Commons did Legally or Illegally? Of what is according or contrary to the Laws and Customs of Parliament? Or what is agreeable or disagreeable to the Fundamental Constitution of the Land, which as well limits the Prerogative of the King, as fixeth the Rights, Liberties, and Authority of Lords and Commons; when almost all the *Ancients and Benchers*, and most of the *Barristers*, as well as *Students* of the several *Inns* of Court have declared, that they are things above them, and which they have neither Power nor Ability to make a determination concerning? Surely the Learned *Gentlemen* of the *Gown* are at least as well qualified to give their Sense and Opinion about these matters, as Country *Mercers, Innkeepers, Taylers and Thatchers* are; and yet those refuse to meddle with Addresses, as referring to things which appertain not unto them, whilst the latter make themselves Arbitrators between the King and Two Parliaments, and from their profound Wisdom pass Sentence against their Representatives. The Gentlemen of the Long-Robe have besides their Loyalty, wherein none dare pretend to outstrip and exceed them, as great obligations arising from Interest to have sway'd to accommodate themselves to the wishes and desires of the Court in this matter, as any persons in the Nation have; And therefore it can be nothing but their knowledge of, and their value for the Laws of the Kingdom, with the Reverence which they are ever resolved to maintain for Parliaments, that could have made them oppose Addresses, and thereby venture the displeasing those, to whom they owe, and from whom they expect so much. Nor will Twenty Thousand Hands to Addresses from Country-Corporations, make that Impression upon the minds of modest and thinking men, as their being cast out and refused by the *Benchers and Barristers* of the *Inns* of Court.

Sect. 12. Having thus far acquainted you with my freest and most natural Thoughts in general about them, it is time now that we more nearly inspect and pass our Judgment upon the matter of them: and if I mistake not, the presuming to give His Majesty Thanks for *His promising to Govern by Law*, is no less than a Disloyal and gross Reflection upon him. For will not some men hereupon think that he hath Administred some just ground of Fear or Belief, as if he intended to Govern Arbitrarily? Or doth it not insinuate that he is so unconfin'd, that if he please he may do so? Or may we not say, that it plainly intimates, that the best Security which we have to rely upon why he will not, is His Royal Word in His late Declaration? It doth unbecome *English* Subjects to thank their Prince for promising to Govern by Law; seeing as he never did, so he cannot do otherwise. His Ministers may act Illegally, and they are liable to answer for it; but he can do nothing but what the Law directs and justifies. Nor is he only bound to this by his Coronation-Oath, which is however a more Sacred and Solemn Tie than a Promise in a Declaration; But his own Greatness, and his very Prerogative, as having their own Foundations in the Law, oblige him to it. For as *Bracton* says, *Rex habet superiorem Legem per quam factus est Rex*, Lib. 3. de Action. Cap. 9. *Sect. 3.* and therefore that *Lex frangum est Regis potentiae*, The Law bounds and limits the Kings Power. *Nec can he*, says *Fortescue* De Leg. Angl. Govern his People by any other Power, than the Law. And as *Bracton* expresseth it, (*ubi supra*) *Rex nihil potest, nisi id solum quod de jure potest*; The King can do nothing, but what he can do by Law.

Sect. 13. But you will the less marvel at their returning His Majesty Thanks for promising to Govern by Law, seeing the Tenor of all the Addresses is to intimate, That all the Right or Claim which we have by Law in our Lives, Liberties or Estates, is dependent upon His Majesty's Will and Pleasure. This all of them suggest and insinuate, and some of them do very fully express. What else can be meant by their thanking His Majesty, *For his unparallel'd Grace, Favour and Goodness, in purposing to continue to them their just Rights, Liberties and Properties?* And for his Resolution, *that (notwithstanding many Provocations) yet His Majesty will Govern in all things according to the Laws of the Kingdom?* And for His Princely Purpose, *never to invade the Liberties of his Subjects?* And that he hath declared, *He will never use Arbitrary Government?* Do not these and all

the

Addr. from
Coarbum.
Addr. from
Dorin.
Addr. from
B. restable.
Addr. from
Hastmire.

the other Addressees imply, That tho' the Laws speak of Rights, Liberties and Properties which belong unto us; yet they are not secured unto us, but that His Majesty, were it not for the just and gracious temper of his Nature, might invade and destroy them? And is not this to sacrifice, as far as in them lies, *Magna Charta*, *Petition of Right*, and our *Statute and Common-Laws*, to the Sovereign Will and Arbitrary pleasure of the Prince? Whereas, thanks be to God, the King can neither disleise a man of his Liberty, nor break in upon his Property; but we are enabled to relieve our selves in His Majesties Courts. Nor are these men, for all their seeming to abandon Themselves, Lives, Liberties and Properties to His Majesty's Will, to be too much trusted or relied upon by His Majesty, should he be tempted contrary to his Duty and Inclination, to offer at any thing Illegal, considering how unjustly clamorous they have been against the House of Commons, *For their Illegal Votes and Orders, and usurping upon their Persons and Estates. For Tyrannizing over their Fellow-Subjects. For their Arbitrary Proceedings in the two last Parliaments, and their Unlimited and Illegal Imprisonments, and their Messengers exorbitant, exacting, preterded fees contrary to Magna Charta.* For if they be so heated and transported against their own and the Kingdoms Representatives, when very many wise, learned, and indifferent persons, and who are as jealous of the least invasion upon the liberty and property of the Subject, as any in the Nation, think that the House of Commons did nothing in all the Cases that are with so much warmth and resentment reflected upon, but what they both might and ought to do by the Laws of the Land and Parliamentary Presidents; Is it to be imagined, that they would very tamely lose their Lives, or suffer themselves to be silently dispossessed of their Estates, at the sole and indisputable pleasure of the Prince?

Addr. from
the Westrent
Division of
Suffex
Addr. from
Exon.
Addr. from
Norwich.

SECT. 14. And whereas by all the Addressees they testify with what approbation they have received His Majesties late Declaration; it is too plain, that thereby they intimate their Satisfaction in the Dissolution of so many Parliaments. Nay some of them expressly publish their unanimous consent and delight therein. And others return His Majesty *several thanks for giving his two last Parliaments such timely Dissolutions.* Had these people the discretion and modesty which might become them, they would have esteem'd themselves very improper and insufficient Judges of the prudentialness of that exercise of Royal Power. And this is the first president that ever *England* saw, of any Commoners giving His Majesty thanks for dismissing Parliaments. For tho' some of our former Kings have, upon Misunderstandings arisen between them and their Parliaments, abruptly Dissolved them, and published very weighty Declarations in Justification of what they did; yet whatever Submission the people yielded to what these Princes had done, or how reasonable and justifiable soever they in their own minds believed it, they never Addressed these Monarchs in a way of Thanks for doing of it. And tho' possibly the last Long-Parliament, was through its long Sitting, esteemed a great grievance to the Nation, and too many of its Members judged easily manageable for betraying the liberty of the Subject, had they been powerfully tempted thereunto, and tho' His Majesties Dissolving them was entertained with an Universal joy, yet none had the folly to thank him for it, as knowing of what fatal consequence such an action might afterwards prove. And whether the many acknowledgments which some have returned the King for Dissolving Two such Parliaments, that for what appear by their Printed *Votes and Debates*, were filled with men of as great integrity and ability, as well as Gentlemen of as great Estates, as have in any age met together in the great Council and Senate of the Kingdom; do become those that are well-wishers to the Protestant Religion either at home or abroad, or such as have duly considered the present state of the Nation and the many dangers with which it is encompassed, may be worthy of their most serious thoughts, when they are at leisure to look back upon, and examine what they have done. Surely those men, who at the same time thank the King for promising to Govern by Law, never considered that it is both a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and much of the soul and life of all our Laws, not only to have frequent Parliaments, but have them permitted to sit to dispatch the affairs of the Nation. Nor can they be supposed to have seriously weighed how when the Kingdom seems in so much danger from an aspiring and formidable Neighbour, our Religion and Lives so greatly in hazard by the hellish conspiracies of the Papists, our Allies in so much need of countenance and assistance, that the King, tho' never so well inclined, as we will always believe His Majesty to be, cannot without the concurrence, aid and advice of a Parliament, do any thing may effectually answer those weighty, importunate and loud calls. For what can His Majesty be conceived able to do in such circumstances, when he hath neither Power over

Addr. from
Bristol.
Addr. from
Norwich.

4 Ed. 3. cap.
14.
36. Ed. 3.
cap. 10.

the Purfes of his people, nor can fo much as command the *Militia* of the Nation to march out of their refpective Counties? But that which thefe Addreffes imply, which is yet of more dangerous importance, is that the very Being of Parliaments doth wholly depend upon the will and pleafure of the King. Whereas fuch a fupposal is inconfiftent with the conftitution of the Kingdom, does no way comport with the ends of our Government, and might prove very dangerous to the fafety and happinefs of the Nation, in cafe we fhould hereafter have a King void of compaffion to, and regardless of the intereft of his people. For tho' it be left to the Wifdom of the Sovereign where he will have Parliaments to Affemble, and belongs to His Prerogative to call them when his own Princely occafions or the neceffities of his people do require; yet the Law which His Majesty is fworn to obferve, it being a part of His Coronation Oath, *Tinere Leges & confuetudines Regni*, doth both provide that we fhall have *Annual* Parliaments, and by directing the ends for, and the affairs about which they are to meet, doth at leaft imply fomething of their continuing to fit till thofe affairs be accomplifhed, and the faid ends compaffed and obtained. Nor will His Majesty be ever induced to believe that he can be thought to Govern according to Law, without calling Parliaments whenfoever the diftreffes and grievances of His people befpeak and require them. Neither is it to be imagined that he fhould long harbour any fuch thought in His Royal breaft, That he can answer the directions and ends of the Law, without permitting Parliaments to fit fuch a convenient feafon, as that they may in conjunction with His Majesty, relieve the People from their manifold fears, redrefs the numerous and fore grievances of the Nation, and provide for the fafety, ftrength, and honour of the Kingdom.

Addr. from
the County of
Somerset.
Addr. from
Cambridge,
Ripon, Weft-
ern Division of
Suffex.
Addr. from
Hertford.
Addr. from
Monmouth,

Seft. 15. In the next place, All the Addreffes feem to be fram'd towards the expreffing a willingness in the People, that the Duke of *York* fhould fucceed His Majesty. And this they infinuate a readinefs in the Addreffes to further, without the leaft defire to have any provision made before-hand for the Security of the Proteftant Religion, or Safe-guarding the Lives of fuch as profefs it, under the Reign of one that is a known and violent Papift. For whilft the Addreffers are pleafed to fay, *That it is the Kingdoms Intereft to continue the Succeffion in its Due and Right Line*; And take upon them to thank His Majesty, *For his unalterable Refolutions to preferve the Crown in its due and Legal courfe of Defcent*; and undertake to *sacrifice their Lives to preferve the Kings Heirs and lawful Succeffors*. And offer their Lives and Fortunes to His Majesties Difpofal for this purpofe; All people do fufficiently underftand what they aim at, and that the meaning of all this is, That they would have the Duke of *York* come to the Throne. But I wifh they had fhown fo much Ingenuity and Candour, as to have taken notice and acknowledged, that all His Majesties Subjects are as tender of the Prefervation of the Monarchy, and as zealous to have it continued in the Royal Line, as any of themfelves dare pretend to be. For it is more than probable, that nothing fo much influenced the bringing in and prefenting the *Bill of Exclufion*, as a regard to the Prefervation of the Monarchy; which fome of the beft, wifeft, and moft Loyal of His Majesty's Subjects think the coming to have a Popifh King may fhake and endanger; efpecially confidering what this Nation felt from the laft Papift that poffeffed the Throne; and how it hath been of late, and ftill is threatened by the bloody Conspiracies of the *Romifh* Parry. Befides, it had not been amifs, if our late Addreffers had owned, that the King, Lords and Commons have a Power to difpofe of the Succeffion, as they fhall judge moft conducing to the Safety, Intereft and Happinefs of the Kingdom; and that he is His Majesties Heir and Succeffor, upon whom the whole Legislative Power fhall think meet to fettle the Inheritance of the Crown. Nor would it have mifbecome men profefling the Proteftant Religion, and tender of *English* Liberties, to have recommended to His Majesties fecond Thoughts and maturer Advice, what Three feveral Parliaments have with fo much ftrength of Reafon infifted upon, and with fo much earneftnefs purfued and defired. And I wifh they were able to tell us what they mean, when at the fame time that they engage to defend the Proteftant Religion, they vow, *to the laft drop of their Blood, to ftand by the next Succeffor*; And the rather, becaufe there is fome reafon to believe, that many of them will not be over-forward to dye Martyrs. It would be alfo fome fatisfaction to be inftructed, how they think to defend the Crown, in the Prefervation whereof they pretend to be ready To *sacrifice themfelves and all they have*; feeing by being willing to admit a Papift to be King, they confent to the robbing it of the *Supremacy*, which is one of the brighteft Jewels in it. However it is fome comfort, that one end of fetting on foot and carrying on thefe Addreffes, being to make a Survey and obtain a *List* of all that were for the Duke of *York*, they do not upon the *Muster-Rolls* appear fo many as to endanger the Nation in a

Civil

Civil War, in case the King should hereafter so far comply with the humble Requests of his People, as to be willing to pass the *Bill of Exclusion*, if tendred to him by a future Parliament.

Sett. 16. But besides what is already said concerning the Quality and Design of the the said Addressees, there is this farther tendency in them all, namely, to insinuate to the Nation, that we have and enjoy a sufficient Security for our Religion, Lives and Liberties. For as if it were not enough to acknowledge, as all His Majesties Liege-people do, *His Majesties Ease, Just, and most Gracious Government since His Restoration*; and to testify their sense of the Felicity and Happiness which all His Majesties Subjects have most comfortably enjoyed under a most Regular, Gracious and Peaceful Government: They are pleased further to adde, His that Majesties Promise in His late Declaration, *Of adhering to the Laws of the Land and making them the Rule of His Government*, is not only sufficient to allay all mens Fears and Jealousies, remove the Misunderstandings of all well-meaning and reasonable People, and give us all possible assurance of enjoying the greatest Liberty and best Religion, that any people in the world have; but that no greater Security can be had or hoped for, in order to the enjoying our Religion, Liberties and Properties, than His Majesties Royal Word to Govern by the Laws. Whereas not only four Parliaments have represented and declared the manifold Dangers by which our Religion, Lives and Properties are threatened and encompassed; and how difficult, if not impossible it is, to preserve and secure them from the Designs that are laid against them; but the King also hath been pleased to signify the same, and that as well in several Proclamations published for the informing of His People, as in divers Speeches to His Two Houses of Parliament; whose Advice He both thereupon required, and also that effectual Laws might be made for the obviating and preventing those many Mischiefs and Dangers that are impending over us. And if the Kings hitherto governing by Law, hath not been sufficient to discourage our Popish Enemies from Conspiring our Destruction; Can it be apprehended, that His Majesties adherence to the Laws for the future, will remove the Jealousies, and allay the Fears which we have of the Papists? Besides, tho' His Majesty is always to be supposed, resolved and inclined to Govern by Law, yet there want not too many Instances, wherein His Ministers that are trusted with the Administration of Justice, have to the great prejudice of the Subject, and the Alarming the whole Nation, failed in their Duty. Our dreadful Apprehensions do not proceed from any ill Opinion which we have of the King, but from the implacable Hatred which the *Romish* Faction bear as well against Him, as His Protestant Subjects; and from the Corruption of those Officers of Justice, who do either abuse or pervert the Law to base Ends, or hinder its due and Legal Execution. Nor is it our having good Laws, but their being truly executed, that will advantage and relieve us; & therefore we are to be pardon'd, tho' we profess our selves doubtful of our Security by them, whilst some that have been entrusted with the Administration of them, are suffer'd to escape the punishments which they have deserved for obstructing their course, and for perverting of them. And what if we should with all Thankfulness acknowledg, that we are in some Security during His Majesties Life, will the Laws which we have, without some farther and more effectual provision before His Majesties Death, contribute much to our Safety, when we shall hereafter have a *Popish* King to Reign over us? But can these men be supposed in earnest, when they tell us that the Nation is in no danger, while the Papists continue so active to extirpate the *Northern Heresie*, and are in a more hopeful way to effect it than ever? Alas! the *Popish Plot*, instead of being defeated, is not so much as yet thoroughly detected: And instead of the *Papists* being dismay'd by that Discovery which hath been made, or by the Justice which hath been inflicted upon some of the Criminals, they are only enflam'd to prosecute their *Devilish* Conspiracy with the greater vigour, and to execute what they intend with more bloody rage. Can any man that is not void of common sense believe, that we are safe and out of danger, when every true Protestant is in daily hazard through their Sham-Plots, and by their hiring and suborning vile and execrable Villains to Swear Treason against those that have any Zeal for our Religion and Civil Liberties? How can we be supposed arrived at any measure of Safety, when there are an Hundred things absolutely necessary to be done towards our Preservation, wherein the King, tho' fully disposed to adhere to the Laws, is in no capacity to meddle, without the assistance and concurrence of his Parliament? And therefore if men will after all that they have seen, felt, heard, and read of a Damnable Popish Plot to destroy the Person of the King, overthrow the Established Religion, and enslave the Nation

Addr. from Derby, and from the Military Officers of Surry. Addr. from Bristol, and from Dorset. Addr. from Lynn Regis, Clifton, Dartmouth, Harneß; Grand Inquest of the County of Oxen, Bristol, &c.

Nation to an Antichristian forraign Power, flatter themselves upon a bare Declaration, that His Majesty will *Govern by Law*, that thereupon all is safe and secure; they must not take it ill, if they be thought accessary to their own and the Kingdoms ruine, through their dull and blockish Incredulity, to say no worse.

Sect. 17. Another ill tendency of most, if not all the Addressees, is the reviving the memory of the late unhappy Troubles, which it is the Interest both of His Majesty and the whole Kingdom to have buried in perpetual Oblivion. For the mentioning of that War with reflection and bitterness, serves only to make men remember three hasty Dissolutions of Parliaments, and Twelve years want of one, with some other things which fell out in that space, all which preceded and had too great an influence towards the causing of it. Besides, there was a Massacre of the Protestants in *Ireland* by the Papists there, and a bloody War commenced for the extirpation of the English Government in that Kingdom; which as it too much exasperated the minds of men towards that unhappy War which begun here, so I fear the upbraiding men too much with their concern in those Troubles, will not prove very useful to the party that appears most forward in it. Nor is it easie to be imagined, how the mention of the late War comes to be brought upon the Stage at this time of day, seeing most that were believed either the first Fomenters of, or proved afterwards Actors in it, are dead and gone; and for their Children (witness many of the most violent and high-flown Clergy) they are commonly found to be of Principles directly contrary to what they were. Nay, that which renders all reproachful Discourse of that War at this juncture still more strange, is that the ignominy and *odium* of it is designed to fall upon many of the chiefeest of those that served under the Banners of the late King, or upon such who sprung from them that did, and have their Fathers Loyalty mixed with their Blood. And to deal plainly, I know nothing that can so plausibly justify the Parliaments cause in that War, as the telling the World that there was little or no difference betwixt their Principles and the Principles of those that sat in the Two last Parliaments, whose actions the Addressees do with so much Indecency brand and asperse. And the language that is daily bestowed upon the Members of these late Parliaments, as being men of the same complexion that they of the Parliament Forty One were, will, instead of leaving any reproach upon them on whom it is intended to be fastned, beget a better opinion of those to whom they are compared, than the Addressees would be willing that they of this Age should find reason to entertain. I may add, that none have lived more peaceably, and with better Submission under His Majesties Government, than they who were engaged on the Parliaments side in that unhappy War; and therefore it doth not seem an act of any great Prudence to discourage them in their Obedience, by upbraiding them with that, which the Law hath not only pardoned, but which they have expiated by their Loyalty since. Nor do I think that when the Parliament, after the King's Restauration, made the Act of *Indemnity*, wherein among other things Enacted which they judged necessary towards the Settlement of the Nation, they prohibited, under a Penalty, one mans reproaching another with his being concerned in that War, during the space of three years after the date of the said Act, that ever they intended, that men should afterwards with the greatest Licentiousness and Scurrility upbraid one another with it. Nay, they hop'd, that if the Spirits and Tongues of men were so long bridled and restrain'd, their Animosities would be wholly extinguished before the expiration of that time. And none but men of very implacable Spirits would call over, and with so much *Satyr* asperse men for these things; especially when there hath not been the least cause admittred for it: unless it be, that such have a greater concernment and value for the Protestant Religion and *English* Liberties, than to desire they should come to lye at the discretion of a Popish Prince, as the Addressees plainly wish they may.

Sect. 18. As our Affairs are now circumstanced, and as the state of the Protestant Religion stands at present in *England*, the Addressees carry another ill Design in them, which is, to enflame differences further among our selves, and thereby betray us into the hands of Popish Adversaries. For as if the principal thing we were to aim at, were not the preserving our Religion against the Conspiracies of the Papists, and as if the united strength of all Protestants were not little enough to effect and obtain it; no less will serve most, if not all of the late Addressees, than the Executing the Laws with the utmost Severity against Protestant Dissenters. And as if there very thinking of a Fanatick had made them *delirious*, they will not allow the Parliament to make the least abatement in the terms of Conformity, or to give Indulgence in, or dispense with one Ceremony:

mony; though all the *Ceremonies*, and the present *Form of Worship*, and the very *Hierarchy* it self, can plead no other Authority by which they are enjoined, or by which the Subjects of this Land are bound to comply with and submit to them, but some Acts of Parliament. Nay, so little do the persons, that have Subscribed the Addreses, understand the Interest of the *Protestant Religion*, as now by Law established, that they would not have an Act to be repealed, which may under a *Popish Prince*, & in case *Papery* come to be set up, prove as fatal and mischievous to them that are at this time the *Conformable Clergy*, as it will to the *Dissenters*; tho' at present it do only reach and be applied to the latter. And that I may not seem to impose upon them, Is not all this the full and plain import of their joining *Popish Recusants* and *Seditious Sectaries* all along together? Of their affirming *Fanatical Parties* to be as dangerous as *Popish*? Of reckoning up the *pernicious* endeavours of the *Sectaries*, in consort with the *Devilish Designs* of the *Papists*? And as if this were not sufficient to declare what they mean, they not only take upon them to thank His Majesty, *For not passing Limitations or Nullifications of such wholesome Acts as were designed for Preservation of the Reformed Religion, especially the 35. of Q. Elizabeth, and for not suffering that Law, and others made against Conventicles to be Repealed: but they humbly pray His Majesty, that those Laws now in force, may vigorously, speedily and equally be put in Execution against all Papists and Protestant Dissenters: And particularly, that the Statutes of the 3d of K. James, and the 35th of Q. Elizabeth may be put and continued in their due Execution.* It is something strange to find a company of men so zealous for the *Protestant Religion*, when divers of them are the *Disgrace and Reproach* of any Religion which they take upon them to profess. But can we believe that they are *Protestants*, or at least that they understand the *Protestant Interest*, who represent *Dissenters* as equally dangerous to the *Government* and *Established Religion*, as the *Papists* are? It would administer a ground of too ill an Opinion of our *Supreme Rulers* and *Publick Ministers*, should they allow and approve what these men have suggested. For are there any amongst the *Dissenters*, that have sworn *Obedience to a Foreign Power*, that they should be thus put into the same List of dangerous persons to the *Government* with the *Papists*? Or is there any *Security* that the *Legislative Power* can require of them for their *Peaceableness*, that they are not willing and ready to give? Yea, Is not the *Religion* of the *Dissenters* established by *Law*, as well as that of the *Conformists*, tho' there be some things *Ordained*, as the *Accoutrements* and *Modes* of the *National Religion*, which the *Non-Conformists* cannot submit unto? For as the only *Foundation* upon which the *Dissenters* go, is that their *Faith* and *Worship* are agreeable and according to the *Scripture*, which is the alone *Rule* of the mind of *God* to all his *People* in what they are to believe and perform: So from the *Authority* which the *Scripture* hath allowed unto it by the *Law* of this Land, and by the *Consonancy* of their *Doctrine* to the *Establish'd Articles* of *Faith*, they humbly conceive that they have the countenance and warranty of the *Law* for their *Religion*. Nor doth the *Law* disallow or forbid any thing which they profess; it only enjoins some further things, which they cannot come up to. And as the *Dissenters* do not oppose any one *Doctrinal Article* of the *Church of England*, so they blame and judge no man for the *Canonical Obedience* that they promise to the *Bishops*, or their *Conformity* to the *Ceremonies*; but merely beg that themselves may be excused. And should they be gratified as to all which in our present circumstances they do desire, it would amount only to this, That they may *Preach the Gospel* without being liable to *Imprisonment*, *Fines*, and *Banishment*. Nor do they cover *Ecclesiastical Preferments*, or *Parochial Maintainance*; tho' were it not for some things, which are made the *Tests* to those *Places* and *Advantages*, and which without any inconvenience might be laid aside, there are many of them that are as worthy of them as others. Neither can that which is stiled the *Church of England* suffer any diminution in the number of its Members by an *Indulgence* to *Protestant Dissenters*, having both *this will I give thee*, and thus saith the *Magistrate* on their side, unless the *Clergy* should fall short in *Abilities* for their *Function*, and in having *Thus saith the Lord* to plead for them. But how dare these persons, who have subscribed the *Addreses*, assume the confidence to censure *Parliaments*, for going about to repeal *Laws*, which by woful experience have been found not only useless, but inconvenient, both to the *Protestant Religion*, and the safety of the *Kingdom*? For as *Parliaments* have *Power* to *Enact Laws*, so they have the same *Power* to *Abolish* them, whensoever they find, that instead of answering the *Ends* which they were made for, they have proved *prejudicial* to the *Common Good*. And surely one may humbly say, and that without the least *Reflection* upon the *Grace* and *Favour* with which the *Addreses* have been received; that two *Parliaments*, so fairly and unanimously chosen, and consisting of *Gentlemen* of the chiefest *Quality*, best *Parts*, greatest *Wisdom*, most plentiful *Estates*, and firmest *Integrity* to the *Interest* of *Religion* and the *Nation*, and all, except a few, *Zealous Sons* of the *Church*, and unfained *Defenders* of the present *Hierarchy*, *Discipline*, *Forms* and *Rites* of *Worship*, were in all probability as able and likely to know what will let in or keep out *Papery*, what will preserve us from, or betray us into the hands and power of the *Papists*, as *Twenty* or *Thirty* persons in a *County* or *Corporation*, most of whom are not worth *Forty Shillings Freehold* a year, and many of them not able to speak *Ten words* of sense together. But it is easie to conjecture who in divers

Address. from
Ripon.

Addr. from
Salisbury.

Addr. from
Clifton, Dartmouth, Har-
ness, &c.

Addr. from
Norwich.

Addr. from
the Western
Division of
Suffex.

Addr. from
Norwich.

Addr. from
Ripon.

places for these Addressers at work, and who put that in reference to Protestant Dissenters into so many Addressees, namely, either persons Popishly inclined, that they might thereby continue and heighten our differences, and make us the more easily a prey to Rome; or some ignorant Clergy-men, who besides their enmity at Fanaticks, have little else to recommend them to the obtaining a common and civil respect, but their *Cassock* and their *Surplice*.

Sett. 19. And as if all this that I have with the greatest sincerity and justice represented unto you, were not enough to blast the credit of the Addressees, and to expose the weakness and folly of such as have subscribed them; there is something yet further, and which is infinitely more pernicious that they pursue and aim at, namely, to possess His Majesty and the World with a belief, that there is a design carried on by Protestants against the King and the Government. Hence they not only thank His Majesty *For recollecting the several steps and advances by which we were betrayed into our former confusions*; but take upon them to observe, that there are some ill men who labour the subversion of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, under the specious pretence of Reformation, being the same method that they brought to pass all the miseries of Usurpation and Tyranny that this Kingdom lately groan'd under; and that being seasoned with the old leaven of Common-wealth Principles, they have endeavoured to make a misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and his people, and to throw us back into the same confusion we were delivered from by His Majesties happy Restauration; and that not only the good order and quiet of the Government hath been most wickedly attempted to be disturbed and shaken, but to be overthrown and utterly subverted, and the very Monarchy it self to be destroyed. Surely had these persons who presume to suggest this unto His Majesty, known any Republicans or Fanaticks, who by possessing the people with groundless fears and jealousies, would bring us into Anarchy and confusion, or that would subvert the known Laws of the Land, wherein our Religion, Liberty and Property are wound up; they ought by their Allegiance to have Deposed against them, and given in their Names, that they might be prosecuted and come to suffer according to the greatness and quality of their Crimes. But alas! this was a Province they durst not undertake, and the attempting it would have too palpably laid open their Folly, and exposed their Malice. And because many have been drawn to set their hands to Addressees, who do not well understand whence this clamour of a Presbyterian Plot proceeds, I shall briefly unfold the Mystery that lies at the bottom of all this loud and groundless noise.

The Papists being charged with a Hellish Conspiracy against the Person of the King, our Religion, Government, and the Lives of all His Majesties Protestant-Subjects, and this being proved against them to the satisfaction of all the rational part of Mankind, as well by their own Papers, as by the Testimonies of many unquestionable Witnesses; and finding that neither their impudent denying it, nor their falsely scandalizing some, and endeavouring to debauch and corrupt others of the King's Evidence, could either bring them off from the Scandal of this Plot, or free them from the Punishment, which were a Parliament permitted to Sir, more of them must undergo; they retreat to this as their last refuge, namely, the amuzing the Nation with the Buz of a Presbyterian and Phanatick Plot, carried on to overthrow the Government, and destroy the Monarchy, under pretence of prosecuting a Popish Conspiracy. And towards the obtaining credit to this, they not only form'd the In-*trigue* of the *Meal-Tub*, but invented the Shams of Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey's murdering himself, and my Lord Howard's penning *Fitz-Harris's* Libel; which tho' they have shamefully redounded upon themselves, yet having no other Game to play, they are still labouring, partly by suborning Witnesses, and hiring impudent Rascals to swear Treason against Protestants, and partly by a groundless and impudent clamour, to infect unwary and heedless persons with the persuasion of such a Design. And it is from the Papists that weak and credulous people have taken the scent of a Presbyterian Plot, And ascribe it to His Majesties Wisdom and Sovereign Authority, that we are not relapsing into the Miseries and Confusions of Tyranny and Usurpation, by the subtle Artifice and cunning Contrivances of the old Enemies of the Monarchy and the Church, who by the insinuations of Religion, Liberty and Property, prevail upon weak and unwary men, to make them subservient to their Faction and Ambitious Designs. Surely, these men never considered what a notorious Scandal they have hereby endeavoured to fasten, not only upon many of His Majesties peaceable, best and most Loyal Subjects, but what a vile Aspersions they have cast upon the whole Kingdom, which greatly suffers in its Honour, by standing represented in the face of all the World, as broken and divided within itself, and sinking back again into all Confusion: Nor have they duly weighed what a Reflection they lodge upon the King's Government and Conduct, that He who was so lately Restored by the unanimous Consent, and with the universal Joy of all his People, should in so few years have lost the Love and Reverence of so great a number of His Subjects, as are intended here to be accused! Can there be any thing vented to the diminishing His Majesties Reputation more abroad; and for discouraging Foreign Princes and States from entering into those Alliances which are necessary for the good, as well of His Majesties Kingdoms, as of Christendom, and for the lessening the expectation and confidence which those with whom we are in League, ought to remain posselt with, of our being able to answer the ends of them, than this account which these men present His Majesty with, of the posture of the Nation, and

temper

Addr. from
Southwark.
Bristol.

Addr. from
Reading.

Addr. from
Derby.

Addr. from
Monmouth.

Addr. from
Ludlow.

Addr. from
some in the
Middle-
Temple.

Addr. from
the Deputy-
Lieuten. &
of Somerset.

Addr. from
Eye in Suffolk.

temper of his People, and which our *Gazettes* have diffused into all Countries? And doth not this also directly tend to the filling His Majesties Protestant-Subjects with Jealousies one of another, thereby to take them off from their watchfulness over, and to weaken their endeavours against the Papists, who labour no less to destroy the Dissenters, than those that Conform to the National Form of Worship, and to the Established Discipline and Ceremonies, and for the withstanding of whose Bloody Designs, and saving our Religion and the Nation from the effect of their malicious and desperate Conspiracies, the united Hearts and Hands of all true Protestants will be found little enough? And will not this Character, which the Addressees are pleased to give of the state of *England*, wonderfully embolden that aspiring Monarch, the *French King*, to proceed in his Encroachments upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, as judging himself secure from any check which the King of *Great Britain* can give him? For as His Majesty can be in no capacity to discourage him from further Attempts against the Peace of *Europe*, or to hinder his Conquest, but by being great in the Hearts of all his own People, and in a happy Correspondence and Conjunction with his Parliament; so we have reason to fear, that they who endeavour to beget Misunderstandings betwixt His Majesty and his Subjects, and to create in them mutual Distrusts each of other, are either Pensioners of *France*, or under the Conduct and Influence of them that are.

Sett. 20. But as if it were not enough for those persons, who have subscribed the Addressees, to fasten so vile a charge as you have heard, upon many of the people, whom the better to reconcile credit to what they say, they are pleased to call *Republicans* and *Fanaticks*, they have also taken the boldness to involve the Two last Parliaments under the guilt of the same crimes and accusations. Accordingly they tell His Majesty, *with what an infinite patience and condescension, he did submit to bear unreasonable jealousies promoted in them, illegal courses and proceedings vindicated, and all the great and most benign Indulgences of their Sovereigns goodness misrepresented.* And they thank the King, *for His steady resolutions of maintaining the Rights of the Crown, &c. against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the House of Commons in the two last Parliaments; And for not Signing such Bills as were prepared for His Majesties Subjects to associate to destroy the Succession, and extirpate Monarchy.* Yea, they profess *Their Admiration of His Majesties Princely Wisdom and Counsel in the conduct of his Affairs, in obviating (viz. by Dissolving Parliaments) the Designs of the pernicious Enemies of the Church and State.* And declare, *That they cannot but admire His Majesties Transcendent and Sacred Wisdom, which in that dangerous and confused juncture, did so seasonably interpose, and so calmly suppress the threatening Flames which were breaking forth.* And thereupon they present their Acknowledgments to His Majesty, *For timely preventing (by Dissolving those Parliaments) the Designs of Ill men, who in the same Age a second Time attempting by the same Methods as formerly, the destruction of His Loyal Subjects, the diminution of his Lawful Power, and the debasing the Grandeur of the English Throne.* I know not by what Name these false and slanderous Accusations charged upon two Parliaments, ought to be called; but it is to be hoped, that the next Parliament will at once tell the Nation, by what name the Law stiles them, and what Punishment it hath allotted for those that have made themselves Guilty of so vile and scandalous an Aspersions, as that two Parliaments had gone about to destroy the Protestant Religion, as Legally established, and to extirpate Monarchy. Whereas those excellent persons, of which the two last Houses of Commons consisted, had many of them ventured their Lives, and lost their Estates for the Monarchy; and all of them were such, as upon Principles of Reason and from Inclination are true Lovers of it. They not only had too late and sad Experience of a Commonwealth, to be fond of returning to it again; but they know, that no other Government can agree with the Genius of the People, and suit the ballance of the Nation, but a well-Regulated Monarchy, such as ours is by the Laws of our Constitution. Nor can His Majesty be supposed to believe, that ever they will prove true to the Monarchy, who are not true to the Rights and Privileges of Parliament. For they who can revile and despise one Essential part of the Constitution, have nothing to oblige them to adhere to the other, but the prospect of Preferment, or worldly Gain. And to see men countenanced, that revile any one part of the Legislative Authority, may be too ill a president, and which His Majesty is obliged to see redressed, from the Love that he beareth to the Crown. For whosoever strikes at Parliaments, does by undermining the Government as by Law Established, shake the very Pillars of the Throne.

Sett. 21. Nor do they only intimate a Design carried on against the Government, but they insinuate a Change to be made by Force; and upon that supposal, while we are in, and to the apprehensions of all sober persons, likely to continue in perfect Peace, they offer their Lives and Fortunes to the disposal of one part of our Legislative Constitution and Power, in opposition to another. *We yield, say they, our Lives and Fortunes at Your Majesties Command, and will to the last drop of our Blood, and Penny of our Fortunes, stand by your Majesty in the Defence of Your Royal Person, Crown and Government, and Lawful Successors.* So that by reading the Addressees, one would be inclined to think, that these men construe the King's Declaration, as the Erection of the Royal Standard; and that they intend these Papers for the Muster-Rolls of those that are to fight under His Majesties Ensigns: But as we hope that His Majesty will never have occasion for War, unless it be in relieving his Allies abroad against the Ambition of

Addr. from
Okehampton.

Addr. from
Norwich.

Addr. from
Winchester.
Addr. from
Bristol.
Addr. from
Cardiffe.
Addr. from
Monmouth.

France,

Address from
Bedfordshire.

France, who to all his other Invasions upon the Dominions of his Neighbours, is at this time about employing his Forces against the Subjects of His Majesties Kinsman, the Prince *Palatine*; so we hope, that both in that Case, and in any other, wherein His Wisdom and Justice will suffer Him to engage, He shall not only have the Treasure of all his People, through the Gift of a Parliament, at His Command; but all their Persons and Lives ready to be Sacrificed in His Service. It is no marvel that such thirst after War, who have little to live upon in Time of Peace, and who may expect to be Gainers by Troubles. But His Majesty, who besides the care He is to to have of the Lives and Estates of all his Subjects, hath more to lose Himself alone, than all his People, will not, I judge, be prevailed upon to hearken to rash and heady Counsels. And how unequal ought they to apprehend themselves to the Body of the Nation, who when they have had the Folly and Confidence to present an Address in the Name of a whole County, have at the same time acknowledged, That they were not able to carry it for any that His Majesty might be inclined to recommend, to serve in the next Parliament for the Shire.

Sett. 22. The last thing I would observe concerning the Addressers, is their making small numbers of men without previous advice had with each other, and without being authorized or entrusted, to judge of the State of the Kingdom. For tho' it be lawful for any one man, and much more for any number of men, to represent to His Majesty their own wants and dangers, and accordingly beg redress and relief; yet to declare the State of the Nation, belongs to no number of private persons whatsoever, but appertains only to the Parliament, as being the Representative of the whole Kingdom. And therefore the Addressers, by assuming to themselves a Right and Authority to determine about the State of the Nation, and to judge concerning those things which the *Trustees* of all the people met in the great Council, are only proper and by Law allowed to meddle with, have in my apprehension made too near an approach to the altering the whole Government. And as they must expect that the judgment which they have passed upon persons and things will at one time or another come under a review; so matters which have either been misrepresented by them, or in reference to which Parliaments have been arraigned, may before then, come to be so well understood by His Majesty, and all things so well adjusted between him and his people, that the Addressers may neither find themselves able to decline, nor be in a condition to controul the jurisdiction of the next Parliament, to which we shall at present leave them.

Sett. 23. But whereas you may be ready to enquire, that if the Addressers be so pernicious, both in the subject matter and tendency of them, and so contrary to the general sense of the Nation, as I have declared; why the people do not by Petitions from all parts of the Kingdom let the King know so much? This I shall return you a just and true answer unto, and then discharge you from any further trouble.

1st. It is the nature and temper of some men most to disserve the cause, and prejudice the interest which they have espoused, when they are quietly let alone to run their course and to take their full swing. For according to the old Proverb, Give some people Rope enough and they will Hang themselves. The only way to know what they would be at, was for others to look silently on a while. And through giving them scope, their own madness & folly hath made them more ridiculous, than any opposition whatsoever from others could have rendered them.

2^{dly}. The Petition first from my Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common-Council of London, and then from the Common-Hall, is a Copy of what all the Nation would say. In London, as in a Glass, we see the face of the whole Kingdom: For being the *Epitome* as well as *Metropolis* of the Nation, whatsoever it says, is a compendious exprelling of the sense of England.

3^{dly}. Men have been willing to forbear Petitioning, lest by the disparity in the numbers to Petitions and to Addressers, some, thinking all safe through the consideration of the multitude that aim'd at what themselves did, might grow more secure than their dangers will well allow; and lest others upon the same inducement might have taken occasion to grow more insolent than their duty and interest obligeth them unto.

4^{thly}. His Majesty having received the Addressers with that favour which he did, wise men thought it best not to administer occasion of his refusing Petitions that they foresaw would come accompanied with more hands. It is good manners in Subjects not to grate too hard upon their Prince; but if he have done any thing wherein they can't acquiesce with that contentment which they desire, to give him time and liberty to recollect himself.

5^{thly}. If Petitions shall be judged either necessary or convenient, it is not so late but that they may be yet set on foot. And if it should prove uneasy for any to find it so, they must blame themselves, who by their unwearied carrying on of Addressers, make it needful for His Majesties good Subjects at last to undeceive him, which they can no other way do, at least till a Parliament come, but by Petitions. I am,

SIR,

Your most ready and
Humble Servant.

June 28. 81.

